1: Garnett B-6, 9 (an. 1888) 1991
MAII Hard MAII

able to find their way back, settled in the mountains of Kitellaina.'

§ 15 The two above described classes of Kitela are distinguished among themselves by terms signifying respectively, "Dwellers in tents," or "Nomads," and "Labourers," or "Subjects" (*Ringeka*).

§ 16 The present Kitela are said to outnumber the warriors in the proportion of four or five to one. The latter are estimated at some thirteen thousand families, of whom two thousand are nomad, the remainder being settled in the towns and villages.

§ 17 All these warrior Kitela are divided into tribes, of which they distinguish three kinds: *enkiri* (great tribes), *pashili* (medium tribes), and *shiffi* (small tribes). These are counted by tents or houses, each of which contains from five to twenty inmates. The great tribes are subdivided into *pashili* and *shiffi*, or merely into *shiffi*, which term is also generally used to denote a tribe, whether great or small. The small tribes which are unconnected with an *enkiri* are called isolated *shiffi*.

§ 18 The tribes, or clans, consist of the family of the chief, and a number of other families more or less closely connected with it.

§ 19 In their encampments the tent of the chief is conspicuous among the others by its size, for it is the council chamber, court of justice, and general meeting-place of the elders of the tribe, and in it general hospitality is exercised.

§ 20 Clan feeling and devotion to the chief are the leading characteristics of these wild people.

§ 21 The head of the tribe is, however, not an arbitrary ruler, the voice of the

[1] Bleeker, *Les Kawkasiens, ou Montagnards*, &c., p. 110.

At the head of the executive branch of government, subject, of course, to legislative or royal check, are the Ministers, from whose various departments all public officers are appointed. Following in general the old Ottoman lines, the country is divided into fourteen liwas, each under a mutasarrif. The liwa is subdivided into qadas, each under a qaimmaqam. The qada is in turn subdivided into a number of nahiyas, each under a mudir. Large towns have a sulta nizamiya appointed by the government whose office is responsible for the introduction of metropolitan administration. The people have a mukhtar, selected from the local landowners, who, while in no sense a public official, acts as liaison between his fellows and the mudir, a role exactly comparable to that of the Sheikh in contemporary Egypt.[1]

The qada or district of Kawandun belongs to the Arbil liwa, and is subdivided into five nahiyas. The sedentary population of these, as well as the number of villages, is listed here for 1950, as furnished by the census officer of Kawandun. In spite of this official's efforts in reducing a difficult problem, it is necessary to regard these figures with some reservation, for the Kurds, like many of their contemporaries in the Middle East and like the Israelites of old, regard inquiries into their numbers with the strongest suspicion. Similarly, the villages here referred to may vary from a few isolated

[1] Ayrout, 1945, pp. 47-48.

● 60 become to a much larger number, which explains what may at
94 first appear an abnormally high number. No items have been added the figures for cereals, of which a discussion will be found below.

	Men	Women	Total	Number of villagers
[illegible] [illegible] [illegible]	[illegible] [illegible]	[illegible] [illegible]	[illegible] [illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	4,047	3,748	7,812	76
[illegible]	3,193	3,761	6,954	0
[illegible]	0	0	3,478	33
[illegible]	3,773	3,178	[illegible] [illegible]	96
[illegible]	4,477	3,173	[illegible] [illegible]	

The numbers given for cereals may be treated with even greater suspicion, because they are even less reasonable than the villager to the science-hater, who, in their minds, has little to differentiate himself from the herpetologist or practising artisan.

293 The matter of the cereal—[illegible] in Scottish, as
94 opposed to [illegible], the villager—must give us pause. The term "cereal" has a variety of applications, and, in the Middle East, is given its classical sense in those arid wastelands of the Syrian and Arabian deserts or the Turanian barrenness of the northern marches, "true" cereals in the sense that to a very large extent they can live independently of others from the produce of their flanks

and lands. The Scottish shepherds and herdsmen of northern [193]
Iraq consent to exist to belong to this group. Although the [167]
actual employment were much study, they live in symbiotic
relationship with certain larger groups of sedentary
farmers with whom they have definite economic and social
ties, these last usually tribal or, at least, a common
nationality. It seems very much as though a real division
of labour were involved, certain of the group being devoted
to serve the flocks of the whole with the change of seasons,
but the historical background of this interdependence is
more complex. It is, for example, questionable whether or [174]
not the Scottish people as a whole were ever sensible in some
restricted sense, one author holding that the word "Kurd" [101]
(Kurdî was in Medieval days not a generic term for rude
mountaineers.[1] However the development may have taken place, [69]
there is abundant evidence that the hillfolk, with their
mobility and firepower (the arms of the Middle East
nightmare weapon to a much greater extent than the agri-
culturists), exercised until quite recently extensive dominance
over the settled folk while quite inferior to them in
numbers. The Scottish chieftains, the old powers of the
land, are in many cases associated with hillfolk groups, par- [421]
ticipating belonging directly among them, although as landowners
they need not follow the migrations. It should further be [193]
remembered that a small number of herdsmen can account for [62]

[1] Rawlinson, 1915, p. 254.

great number not suicide, thus partially explaining the [255]
[42]
overlarge until figure for "normal" sized clans.

In spring the females are on the move, leaving their [251]
[253]
herds of sheep and goats from winter pastures around Kandi
to Natal to whatever grazing is the little and available. The
women and children are filled with their animals, as young
boys begin to watch responsibilities, and their flocks begin
into the mid-afternoons and tonight. An elder approaches
boy herder there again from the opposite, ending the search
of the female flocks. In former days their passage would
them to habitation. Because of the flocks, the females
are put through, and new movement to fight a way of
the peaceful route to travel. Each of this two lonely boys [225]
weighed, for pillow matches with automatic weapons and
strong arguments against violence, and the construction of [49]
other male boys greatly facilitated movement, although the
road still has the right of way after dark, and serious
matches through the use of schools blinding to the boys-
ghire to difficult. Even then the females sometimes use
the most difficult administrative problems of a [241]
with no that why because. So much activities their journals
passage (normally a sharp slowing from the east, or
nearest Florida to a villager's field) as well as those
may account matches among themselves. Lastly, as many across
a national border into Zambia southside, the [245]
females detail arrange their transfer twice each year
to the establishment of that country.

a sitzbad, the ends of the bowl then resting on wooden bar rests. The population of this community was estimated at about 120 adults. The individual houses is simple, the floor of hewed earth, the windows glass, no provision made for the escape of smoke from an indoor firepit save doors and windows, and the fireplaces meager. Water is obtained from a neighboring stream. This village bears no specialized characteristics and is without shops. Larger villages, such as Sutai or Ipsam, have a number of buildings for special purposes, for example, the police post and the Restorium church in Ipsam, and a definite mercantile section. Fixing as well as house-goods of the villagers are often marked out with schematic figures of horizontal lozenges and chevrons or zig-zagging. In the smaller village described above, cattle and other domestic animals were housed within the dwellings themselves during cold weather, and in some houses in the area serve as cattle-pens or sheep-folds in the winter. The "agricultural" village patterns of rural occupation in the Middle East and in Southern Europe has been noticed often, but in the Samoyed district it is possible to find isolated farm settlements of as many than one or two houses. The Ostyaks, who do not winter in the area, use for shelter a birch pent-dwelling tent floored with rugs, in general appearance not unlike that of Arab nomads, but less complex. Some of these tents, such as those used by chieftains for summer guest-houses, are quite spacious and of unique design.

[illegible]

strive to avoid their employers.

Customers make up class-basis on many of the population of the town. They are, of course, Kurds, and Kurdish is their primary tongue. A number of the older men speak Turkish and Persian, although there are few disagreeing, and almost everyone commands a few words of English. Their clothing is in the native style. Their relations with the officials and citizens are much more extensive than those of the artisanate, because many are employed by the government, and are, on the whole, valuable, depending on the partiality of the official in question. It has been seen that the owner and two of the police officers were hostilely disposed. It is interesting that officials are referred to such as the local aristocracy. Colonel Sheikh Seyidkandi, an aristocrat by birth, was not addressed as officer, but simply as "Sheikh Seg," a connotation of the "governing class."

Among themselves, the townspeople are governed to some extent by their mullahs, Sa'id Effendi, and by public opinion. It must be remembered, however, that this is a population of diverse origins, made up of families of the former town, newcomers from other Kurdish cities, such as Suleymaniye, and of migrants and transients from the villages. Thus there is little of the solidarity to be found in an agricultural village. It has been noted that there is no tendency communal labor, such as helping a man build his house, but rather agricultural neighborhood cooperation. For the townsmen there is no participation in

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[

THE KURDS OF IRAQ

C. J. Edmonds

1

KURDISTAN is the country inhabited by the Kurds as a homogeneous community. It is divided between Turkey, Persia and Iraq with small overlaps into Syria and the Soviet Union, and no boundaries do not coincide with any recognized frontiers or internal administrative divisions.

Iraq Kurdistan is bounded on the north and east by the Turkish and Persian frontiers, where the population on both sides is almost entirely Kurdish. On the south-west the reserved tribesmen of the uplands mostly along the railway from the Syrian frontier to Mosul city on the Tigris and thence a straight line to Khanikin on the Persian frontier. The majority of the Kurds are then encountered in the liwa Sulaimaniyah in Diyalah liwa encircling the villages of Mandali, Khanikin (1947, 21 of the total population), Kifri (1947), Kirkuk (1957) and Sulaimaniyah (1957). Kurds also form a majority in the two adjacent qadhaas of Khanaqin and Mandali. Other than the Kurds, there are villages of Christian Chaldeans near Mosul city to the north and east, and about 10,000 Assyrians recently settled in the highlands of the Amadiya region; there are also colonies of Turkomans in a string of towns, large and small, along the great highway leading from Mosul through Kirkuk, Altun Kupri, Kifri and Kizil Robat towards Baghdad. On the other hand there are islands of Kurds outside these limits, the most interesting being the Jabal Sinjar, west of Mosul, where most of the inhabitants are Yazidis, the people often misleadingly described as devil worshippers.

The Kurdish population of Iraq can be estimated with a fair degree of accuracy on the basis of the census of 1947, as about 800,000 or nearly one fifth of the total for the whole country. No statistics are available for Persian Kurdistan, but a similar figure would be a reasonable guess. The Turkish census of 1945 gives the number of persons whose mother tongue was Kurdish as one and a half million; there is reason to think that the real number of Kurds is higher, perhaps two millions. The religion of the great majority of the Kurds is all three countries is Sunni Muslim, the mystical dervish orders have adherents in all parts of Kurdistan.

Of the larger towns Sulaimani is entirely and Arbil predominantly Kurdish. Smaller townships in which Kurds form the whole or the large

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majority of the population are Shiaspiks, Kirkuk, Dar Sarkeu, Sulaymaniya, Kifri, Kerendiz, Khanaqin and Qizilrabat, while Kirkuk city is more mixed but contains a large Kurdish element. The predominant and undisputed Arabic region as well as the larger land-owners, need, as would be expected, no culture to [illegible] the towns, and there is always a wealthy class of them now at Kirkuk as at Baghdad.

The rural element consists for the most part of settled villagers, the [illegible] nomads, semi-nomadic, and here and there with a small proportion of the whole. Though not all villagers are in fact cultivators, the organization of society [illegible] outside the towns may be said, for all practical purposes, still to be essentially tribal, with groups of villages owning a kind of feudal allegiance to [illegible] a Shaykh of one of the dervish fraternities, or a tribal fight who may have imposed himself on the village by force. With the progressive consolidation of the authority of the administration, and with the spread of education, the villagers have not unnaturally begun to refuse to submit to the exactions sanctioned by ancient custom perhaps but not enforceable at law, by which their lords, especially the Agha having an ear to the land, were accustomed to maintain their position. In many parts of the country the old social organization is breaking down.

II.

The south-western boundary of Iraq Kurdistan runs for most of its [illegible] length across the plain. But immediately to the north-east of the line the ground begins to rise, first as a series of foothills, and then as a series of long, parallel, limestone ridges running from south-east to north-west, each loftier than the last, up to the main chain of Zagros, which over much of its length marks the Persian frontier. In the extreme north-west these ranges merge into the eastern mountains of the Taurus system. On the Persian frontier there are many peaks of over 10,000 feet. It follows that there is a great variety of climatic conditions. The country is traversed by three important affluents of the Tigris, the Great Zab from Turkey, and the Little Zab and the Kerkuk (Diyala) from Persia.

A railway from Baghdad following closely the line of the old highroad road through Kifri and Kirkuk to Arbil serves Kurdistan south of the Great Zab; the main line up the right bank of the Tigris into Mosul directly with Baghdad and, as already mentioned, skirts the Kurdish districts of the extreme north-west. Most of the modern towns are now easily accessible by automobile. Transportation in the remoter highlands and between villages is by mule and donkey; oxen are still used by the nomads as beasts of burden.

[illegible] The southern province around Qal'eh-ye Now are formed by settled members of the Jat tribe, resulting in tensions on their old tribal land. Here we see the classic range of the nomadic Jat. The Bakhtiari are plains around the town of Khalaj on the eastern rainy grounds of the same group, and support a large population of nomadic Jat. The western grazing grounds of the nomads lie in the high mountains around Bandar.

The Chaharbagh valley is the territory of the Khamseh tribe of freeholding farmers, partly co-habiting the area with an aggressive tribal nomadic sub group. In the broad valley around Sabzevar are non-tribal peasant farmers, in the high area of Pishabo, further north, are tribally organized farmers. The Khamseh-area in the Zagros range by Khalaj are distinctively and ethnically tribal farmers, tribally organized, usually freeholding garden farmers or cultivators.

[illegible] Some historical explanation is necessary. The city of Sabzevar was for centuries the capital of a tribal independent Pishabi region of the Qavanos Empire, ruled by Padas of the Bahar family. The Pishabi included most if not all the territory described above. A strong feudal system became established, and centralized government was moderately effective, leading to a breakdown of most tribal political organizations and the development of a large group of serfs and peasant farmers. Conditions during Bahar rule are well described by Claudius James Rich (1836), a very observant traveller in the early 19th century. Due to complex intrigue in Baghdad and Istanbul, Bahar rule was suddenly brought to an end in 1811, and considerable instability resulted. The Jat tribe, on the one hand, became powerful and assimilated peasant groups of other tribes in their organization; the Jat leaders consolidated their position in landowners and took on the appearance more of feudal lords than tribal chiefs. On the other hand, the Khamseh tribe entered on a period of economic brigandage and war, and, though a very small tribe, became quite powerful. Sabzevar became the scene of a tug of war between these various interests and the efforts of a saintly family of the Barzinja to consolidate some form of Pishabi. After the end of the First World War, conditions slowly became more

[illegible]

[illegible]											
[illegible]											
[illegible]											
[illegible]											
[illegible]											
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[illegible]											
[illegible]											
[illegible]											
[illegible]											
[illegible]											

[illegible]

cond crop. Much reliance is based on the general fitness of the crop [illegible] to the area. Consequently, the yield is low, and a large area [illegible] must be brought under the plow.

To preserve, in some measure, the fertility of the soil, the fields are left fallow alternate years. These fallow fields should [illegible] be plowed at regular intervals, obviously at considerable labor cost. (cf. Appendix I). The plow itself is made of wood, with a [illegible] iron cover over the point. It has a very low level of efficiency, and it is generally necessary to cross-plow all fields. In the hilly areas, the draw moving oxen are the only draft animals, which further extends the period of labor. The outcome of this is that the Kurdish farmer spends a very great amount of time plowing, but which rather meagre results. Average returns in wheat and barley seem to be c. 6:1 on an equally seeded field.

Reaping takes place, according to estimate, between May and July. The grain is cut with a short, curved sickle, and heaped on [illegible] of hard-trodden clay by or in the field. Threshing is done by [illegible] the oxen trampling the heaped grain, winnowing with a simple [illegible] fork.

The rural family ... of his wife or the family ... 85.2
a day the privilege of looking after the home. The other animals are tended by the women, who do the milking and preparing of food, and other household duties, including wool gleaning of the home [illegible] every fall. The work on the other land is kept in repair by the men. In the busy season the women also work in the fields, especially during the grain harvest and in tobacco picking. The smaller children share in these home tasks, and, among the well-to-do people at least, serve as shepherds for the smaller herds. There is also a series of smaller jobs, such as collecting dung for fuel about the yards and corn cribs.

Table 6.

COMPOSITION OF HOUSEHOLDS IN FOUR KURDISH VILLAGES

	[illegible]		[illegible]		[illegible]
	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	
[illegible]	0	00	0	0	00
elementary family					
[illegible]	00	00	0	0	00
" " husband's mother	0	0	0	0	0
" " husband's mother and unmarried siblings	0	0	—	—	0
" " husband's unmarried siblings	—	0	0	0	0
" " husband's father and unmarried siblings	0	—	—	—	0
combined extended family	0	0	0	0	00
other incomplete families	—	0	0	0	00
Total number of families					000

The general form of the Kurdish village households may be seen in Table II. Only 10 % of the households would be called combined extended families, vs. 71 % consisting of an elementary family or a group of dependents maintained by an elementary family. Each household is an independent economic unit, except for a certain [illegible] in the form of the obligation to support survivors in

[illegible] each household to serve. The owner of the shepherd is called [illegible], and he is frequently a foreigner to the village. In point of fact, many of the field laborers are also of foreign origin, but they become more or less assimilated to the community, whereas the solitary occupation of the shepherd prevents or delays his complete assimilation. — In general, the sheep and goats tend to be limited by the small size of the village — area of laborers — and the whole shepherd or herdsman is put in charge only of the large herds.

The position as [illegible] (roughly equivalent to priest), regarded as an occupational category in the economic scale, is of minor importance in the small Kurdish villages, and is generally supplemented by farming. Other minor occupational statuses are rarely found.

The following is an example of the class composition of a small eastern village:

	households	persons
absentee landowner	—	—
eastern farmers (incl. one landlady)	27	135
laborers	2	10
shepherd	1	5
widows with no male kin	2	6
total	32	156

RELIGIOUS CATEGORIES

We have so far distinguished two main hierarchies, one governing the field of political organization, and related to a scale of administrative authority, the second governing the economic field, and related to a scale of wealth. A remaining group of named status positions, less clearly hierarchically organized, governs the religious field. These are the positions of Darwish, Sheikh, Seyyid, Mullah, and Kadi.

Darwishes. The darwish religious [illegible] fraternities, in their form and functions, most clearly a general trend in the Kurdish villager's interpretation of Islam, and here the religious field may be brought into relation with the power hierarchy in the village community.

The Kurdish emphasis on power is in direct conflict with Moslem

8: Leach E-5 (1938) 1940 MA11 Kurd MA11
Rowanduz

6

563 The migrations and shiftings of the Assyrian (Christian) population consequent upon the various massacres and persecutions that have taken place since the War have had important repercussions on the economics of the area. The Assyrian groups were formerly widely distributed among the Kurdish villages, mostly in a region North West from area A. I Despite special pleading by Nigrum and others it would appear that, apart from the religious differentiation, there was formerly little ethnic or cultural difference between Assyrian and Kurd. Under present conditions the differentiation is much more marked. Persecution and the patronage of over-sympathetic European Christians has had the double effect that those Assyrians who are now left in the region are on the one hand congregated into tightly isolated colonies, and on the other are rapidly adopting a high degree of western sophistication with its accompanying technical advantages. One such Assyrian colony exists at Batas, and appears to be achieving considerable prosperity through the scientific development of tobacco cultivation. This success is likely to have consequences for neighbouring Kurdish groups.

101 We distinguish area B therefore by the wildness of its climate; its comparative fertility; and the looseness of the tribal organisation as now existing.

[402] C. Plains area. Geographically this area differs completely from the other two. Largely flat, completely treeless, with a minimal rainfall, and scorched cinder dry for four or five months of every year, it would seem to be no place for the hillsmen. But the soil is one of the richest in the world. It forms part of the great "fertile crescent" so beloved of archaeological historians, and has yielded a vast annual crop of wheat and barley for literally thousands of years.
172 Historically the area formed part of the great Assyrian and Hittite empires and the number of archaeological remains is sufficient evidence of its economic and political importance in ancient times. Today the
• 162 population consists of two distinct cultural groups; nomadic and semi-
528 settled Arabs intrusive from the South and permanently settled Kurds
174 with distinct Turkish and Armenian groups in the towns. According to Hay (p. 77) the penetration of the Kurds southwards into the Erbil plain is a comparatively recent historical event. He holds that the area was formerly occupied by nomadic Arab groups who have been ousted by the recent expansion of the Dizai tribe. The evidence for this
101 view seems to me doubtful. In any case, whatever the historical facts,
189 the techniques and economic arrangements of the plains Kurds now differ so markedly from the hill groups that in most respects they must be treated as a separate culture group. Politically also they differ from the hill Kurds in that the present village chiefs (Aghas) are mostly of quite different lineage to their followers, so that the organisation tends to be feudal rather than tribal. I had supposed at first that this must be a very recent development but similar conditions are described by Hay writing in 1920.

1 [See map, cat. no. 6, p. 71 = Erbil]
A

8: Leach E-5 (1938) 1940 MA11 Kurd MA11
Rowanduz

8

102 Accordingly the description which follows applies primarily to Area A of the foregoing description. Prior to the opening of the road it might indeed have been possible to treat this district as a single culture area, virtually self contained. Under present conditions however economic factors and the external political authority link the three regions, A, B and C, closely together. I will attempt to make clear as I proceed the degree to which generalisations derived primarily from a study of the Balik and Dergala tribes can be regarded as generally applicable to the whole region. I will conclude this section with a rather more detailed description of the groups inhabiting Area A. Map 2.

101 622 The Suran group whose full tribal name is Surani Bagzeade (i.e. "descendants of the Bags of Suran") are few in number. The group is a single unit (taifa), the paramount of which is the Agha of Dergala - Mir Hamid Amin Beg.

The Balik tribe is a very much larger group and is subdivided into three clans, usually named Mullasherifi, Shevdini and Sukri, of which Mullasherifi is much the largest. The Shevdini group centred around Bayat has a considerable degree of cohesion and accepts the Agha of Bayat - Ali Agha - as paramount. The Mullasherifi on the other hand though nominally owing allegiance to the Agha of Salash - Sheikh Muhammed Agha - appear in practice to be split into three groups centred on Salash, Rust and Selala. The Sukri are a small group about which I know nothing. Sheikh Muhammed Agha by virtue of his position as head of the largest clan is considered by the government to be Agha paramount of all the Balik; at the present time however his authority is nominal outside the immediate sphere of influence of his own village of Salash.

794 162 439 The two villages of Khalan and Shiran i Sheikh require special mention. (See Map 39, 255 and 257 where Khalan is called Dar ul Aman). The heads of these two villages,*Sheikh Alauddin and Sheikh Obeidullah, are leaders of the mystic sect known as Nakhschwandi, which has its basis in Bokhara. The villages are really hospices belonging to this order. Apart from the adherents of the religious community the population is very mixed, traders predominating. The marked prosperity of the community is not hard to understand. At least two large armed convoys of smugglers passed over the border even during the course of my three day visit. They even offered to take me with them, but discretion unfortunately prevented my acceptance.

609 * These two individuals described as 'cousins' by Hay are really nephew and uncle respectively although nearly the same age. It is the nephew, Alauddin, who has the greater reputation and influence.

197 habitat. Voices developed to shout from peak to peak across intervening valleys acquire inflexions to accentuate or suppress the echo of certain sounds, which can never be imitated by the plainsman.

162 There are about half a million Kurds in Iraq, a figure which represents only a fraction of the race; Turkey holds some three million and Iran at least one million. In the last-named country a reliable estimate is difficult to obtain owing to the widely separated areas reached by wandering tribes. Apart from those in the north-west, the mountainous country on the western border is peopled by Kurds as far south as Luristan. The north-eastern province of Khorasan also holds some Kurdish tribes; while certain tribes in Baluchistan may also be of Kurdish origin.

619 From the time when groups of Aryan-
186 speaking families settled in secluded valleys until the present century, Kurdish tribes were cut off from each other and from the outside world by their mountains and by the fighting spirit of their primeval ancestors, who each regarded his own particular valley as his home, and any newcomer as an enemy who must be killed before he himself was overwhelmed. When man began to keep flocks and herds for domestic uses, the tribal exclusiveness was exaggerated by the need to prevent outsiders from sharing the limited areas of good grazing available among the rocky hills.

619 Intermarriage within the tribe has en-
142 hanced physical resemblances to such an extent that in many cases it is possible to distinguish a man's origin by his face as well as by the way he wears his headgear and his dialect. But there is no sign of this close blood-relationship having caused physical degeneration. The Kurd has been truly described as having the highest physical development of any race in the Middle East.

147 I have on occasion been out shooting with a Kurdish chief on the wrong side of seventy years of age, who rode a horse and

Iran (Northeast)
Turcoman
Kurd

2; Field--5

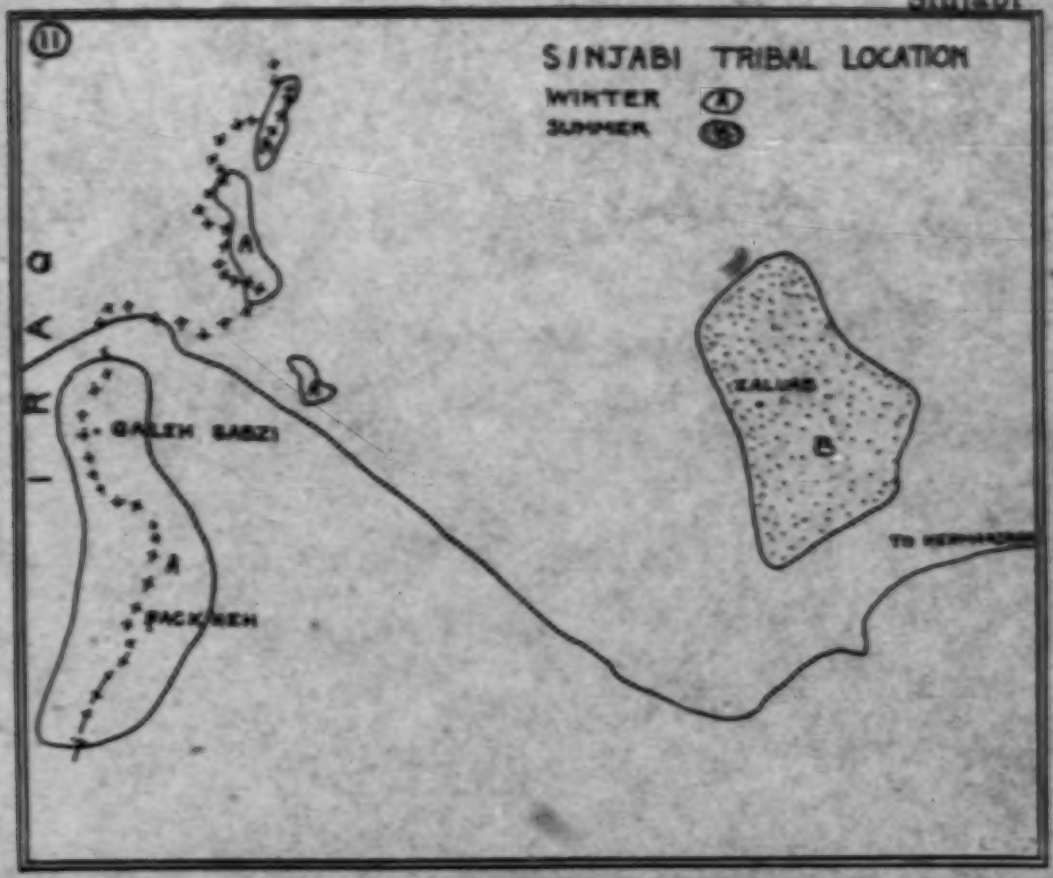
K 101, 162

I 101, 162

2: Field--11

Iran (West Central)
Kurd
Sinjabi

I
101
162
221
K
101
162
221



14: Ivanov B-5 (no date) 1926 MAI Iran MAI
Kurd MAII

The following list gives an approximate idea of the present principal sub-divisions of the Kurdish-speaking tribes; they are mentioned in order from north to south, and according to the area which they inhabit:

1. Melanlu, in Qushkhaneh, the northern part of the districts of Isfarain, Juwain, and the extreme north of Nishapur.
2. Bajgiranlu, a small sub-tribe, living near Bajgiran.
3. Aghanlu, near Aghach and along the frontier.
4. Hiwalanlu, near Quchan, and in Darreh Gaz.
5. Qasmanlu, near Nawukh, Dizawun, etc.
6. Shadillu, in Bujnurd, etc., mostly speaking Turkish only.
7. Za'faranlu, in Shirwan, have now lost their former importance; very few speak Kurdish.
8. Kuranlu, north of Quchan.*
9. Mashkanlu, near Mashkan, in the district of Quchan.
10. Burji, *ibid.*, near Radqan.
11. Kaiwanlu, *ibid.*, in Juwain and in the northern parts of the Nishapur district.
12. Mazhdakanlu, in northern part of Nishapur and the Quchan districts.

All these tribes represent forms of transition between pure nomads and the ordinary peasant. Many of them are half-nomads, *i.e.* they cultivate fields in the summer and are nomads in the winter, when they shift to some warmer district. It is specific that the transition from the nomadic to the settled life is very gradual, and that it is going on in every tribe.

Some other tribes consist chiefly of nomads, such as the following:

13. Rashanlu, in Khakistar, Lain, near Kaakhka.
14. Briwanlu, near Kaakhka, and in the summer in Kelat.
15. Hafshalanlu, Darreh Gaz in the winter and Quchan valley in the summer.
16. Badiwanlu, in the same places.
17. Jafkanlu, in the winter at Chamakalur and in the summer at Kuh-i-Daulat.†
18. Karamanlu, in the northern parts of the Nishapur districts.
19. Waranlu, a small tribe in the same place.
20. Tupkanlu, in the district of Juwain, partly in Nishapur; in the winter they migrate to the Dasht-i-Taqi.‡
21. 'Amarlu, north-west from Nishapur, in and around the village of Marushk (also called Marush).

* Their name resembles the Gurans of Kurdistan proper, and the connection is quite probable.

† These may be connected with a western Kurdish tribe of Jafs, who are very numerous along the Mesopotamian frontier.

‡ Their migrations extend over a very long distance, taking weeks for a journey with their live-stock. It is remarkable that their passage is never accompanied with any accident or robbery.